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or another may be associated with practically every natural and man-made object in the universe. The average layman is wary lest he trespass upon the rights of the spirits or displease them in other ways, but he is often rather hazy as to their attributes and powers. In regard to higher spiritual affairs the layman is as a rule required to take a negative attitude, for generally speaking, his positive pleas and requests to the most powerful spirits can be conveyed only through the medium of a piaiyen (medicine man or priest) or an aremi emu (magician or sorcerer).

In charge of the whole universe is a sort of literary diety, whose name is not known even to the piaiyen. This supreme being is so remote from the life of men that his characteristics are only indefinitely known and are little discussed. He is the supreme power or creator, the first cause, as it were. The priests do not pretend to be able to talk with this head spirit as they can with certain of the lesser supernatural beings; they have never seen him or had any personal dealings with him. He is called iopotari akuru ("boss spirit") and it is insisted that he "fixed everything," that he got the universe started, and even, it seems, had dealings with human beings in remote times. In one of the myths we have the story of the primeval contest, or race, between the several species of animals, heavenly bodies, and so forth, a competition which was arranged by the iopotari akuru as a method of judging the attributes of various things so that they could be assigned to their rightful places in the scheme of the universe. In another myth it is said that a long time ago, this spirit called the people to come to him in the bush. One man of the group he took with him into the forest and changed this man into the appearance of a typical bush spirit, or epo, that is, a being with a long thin body covered with hair, equipped with projecting brow ridges, and devoid of an anus. The humans were naturally alarmed when the man returned. So when the spirit called them to come again they refused. This vexed the head spirit, and ever since that time certain bush spirits under his direction, called epos, have seized and eaten human beings whenever they have had the opportunity.

The head spirit is also, for instance, responsible for the moon and the stars. The nature of these celestial bodies is unknown to the Indians, but the fact that they are believed to have been included in the primeval competitive race suggests an animistic

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identification. Once the heavenly bodies were started in the race, they could not stop. Ever since that remarkable event, the stars and moon have continued in their endless flight about the sky, and the creator spirit has now fixed them there in the celestial steeplechase forever. Regarding the phases of the moon, it is believed that the creator spirit causes it to swell and deflate itself in regular periods so that men may keep track of time as it passes.

Little more seems to be known concerning the head spirit. He is remote, but at the same time all pervading. On the whole he is beneficent, but he, like other spirits, is given to phases of anger, as shown by the incident involving the transformation of the man into spirit guise.

The creator spirit is assisted by a chief lieutenant who is called Komanakoto, a name which is also applied to the original medicine man, although it is insisted that there is no identity. Komanakoto acts as the managing executive of the universe, devoting more attention to detail than does the supreme spirit. But he is also far removed from the affairs of men in these days, despite the fact that it is possible for a medicine man who has become well acquainted with all the other spirits in the pantheon to succeed in establishing contact with him. This, however, is possible only for a medicine man of long and successful experience.

It is obvious that the ideas of the Caribs regarding a supreme being are poorly developed and impersonal, but there seems little reason to suspect that the rudimentary notions which we have just described are in any way due to Christian influence, for in general they seem to agree with the beliefs held by the Guiana Indians in the earliest records.[1] Gumilla, for instance, speaking of the Caribs of the Orinoco, says, "The Caribs call God Quiyumocon, i.e. Our Big Father, but it is not sufficiently clear whether they mean by this expression the First Cause or the most ancient of their ancestors." [2]

On the Barama I have been unable to find agreement with Roth's statement, apparently concerning the Pomeroon Carib, that "the present-day British Guiana Carib name for God is . . .

[1] Roth, 1915, *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk Lore of the Guiana Indians*, p. 117, "The native tribes of Guiana had no idea of a Supreme Being in the modern conception of the term."

[2] Gumilla, 1791, *Historia natura del Rio Orinoco*, quoted in Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 117.

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776 Tamosi-Kabutana, Old Man-Sky (Kabu-the Sun)."[1] Nor do the Barama Caribs worship, so far as could be discovered, the Sun or the Moon, as is said to have been the custom among earlier Carib groups.[2]

Indefiniteness concerning the name of the supreme being has been encountered by other investigators, for instance, Roth, who remarks, "It is very noteworthy that . . . discrepancy as to the alleged word for God is at once apparent in almost all the Creation myths of the other tribes that so far I have managed to unearth."[3]

773 In our collection of myths, which constitutes the following section, will be found explanations of the origins of certain things, particularly in Myths 1, 2, 3, and 13. But no well elaborated or comprehensive origin myth was forthcoming from informants on the Barama. Aside from the myths just mentioned, no allusions to the beginning of things were ever made, and the recitation by the investigator of origin myths from other Carib tribes elicited no response. On the Barama the name Lonquo or Longwo, the alleged First Man of the Island Carib, is unknown. According to La Borde, "Lonquo was the first man and a Carib. He was not made of any other body; he descended from the sky and lived a long time on earth. He had a large nostril from which, as also from an incision in his thighs, he produced the first men."[4] Roth alludes to Bolingbroke's description of Longwo as the first man in the Indian belief of the "central parts," of British Guiana.[5] No elements of this belief were found on the Barama, and recitations of the story were met with interest, but also with professions of ignorance. Nor do the Barama Caribs attribute their origin to descent from "tigers," as reported from the Achagua by Gumilla.[6]

In short, the Barama Caribs leave the question of ultimate origins entirely in the hands of the great creator spirit, and bother their heads little concerning the details.

776 When we turn, however, to a consideration of the more specialized spirits of nature, we find that the Barama Caribs have well

[1] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 118. Incidentally, the Barama Carib name for sun is wuyu.

[2] "It is known that the Chaimas, Cumanagotos, Tamanacos, and other original tribes of the Carib people, worshipped the Sun and Moon." Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 118.

[3] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 118.

[4] *La Borde*, 1856, *History of the Origin, Customs, Religion, Wars, and Travels of the Caribs*, pp. 226–228.

[5] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 141.

[6] Gumilla, 1791, *Historia natura del Rio Orinoco*, p. 113, quoted in Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 143.

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791 rituals are carried on inside a small hut, or consultation room, called the toakai, and in them he uses tobacco in the form of smoke and in the form of an infusion, alcoholic drinks, and certain herbs.

Following is an account, given me by David, the piaiyen of Sawari, of the origin of piai and of how David himself learned the technique.

773 791 Komanakoto was the first piaiyen. One day he was at the river side and heard a mysterious singing. At first unable to decide the origin of it, he finally decided that it came from under the water, so he dived down into the river. At the bottom he found a number of beautiful spirit women singing magical songs. They welcomed him and taught him the songs. After three days he came up and told the people of his settlement of the strange thing which had happened to him. They were naturally somewhat incredulous, so he went to the river again and descended to the bottom for three days. At the end of that time he reappeared, bringing with him not only the songs and the mysteries of the piai, but also the tangible equipment: tobacco, maraka with handle and stones, and arrow stick (from which handles are made). Thereafter he taught other men the piai, and that is how piai first came to the Caribs.

Three other young men learned from David's teacher at the same time as he did. A small house was built, with walls made of palm leaves so tightly plaited that the interior was entirely dark. On the first day of the initiation all the candidates assembled in the house with their hammocks. The teacher took a large amount of green tobacco and pounded it up so that it made quite a little heap in the center of the house. Taking some of this, he put it in a large earthenware bowl and filled the bowl with water. After letting it "set" for a time, he strained off the tobacco water and threw away the leaves. Then each of the candidates was given a large calabash of tobacco water to drink and a cigarette to smoke. Having already supplied themselves with gourds, and arrow sticks from which to make the handles of the rattles, they were now shown by the teacher how to make the maraka. As soon as the tobacco juice began to take effect and their heads "were going round," the teacher gave them each two small pieces of black stone to put inside the maraka. These stones contained the spirit of Piyumari, the land spirit, and that of his wife.

791 787 After imbibing the tobacco juice David lay down in a swoon.

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1. Houses: steep roofed houses are male. Flatter roofed houses, in which the angle of the roof is more oblique, are female. The flat roofed type does not shed the rain so well and requires more thatch than the steeper roofed variety; consequently it is not so efficient. 196

2. Benches: the simple type is regarded as female. This type only is found in use on the Barama at present. A more highly elaborated variety is said to have been in use formerly and is regarded as male.

3. Korials: a V-shaped cross sectioned korial is female; a korial U-shaped in cross section is male. The male type is steadier, carries a bigger load, is easier to manage, and is said to travel faster.

MYTHS AND TALES

1. The Origin of Foods

A long time ago the Caribs were living without knowledge of cultivated plants. With them lived the bush cow, the rat, and the squirrel. The bush cow would every day go across the river and mysteriously disappear in the bush. One day the rat asked to accompany him which, after some hesitation, the bush cow decided to permit. He told the rat to catch hold behind his ears and to hang on in this fashion. He told the rat to bite his ears if anyone should shoot at them as they were swimming across the river. The rat lost his hold two times, necessitating his biting the cow's ear. Each time he did so the cow ducked under water, much to the rat's annoyance. (Laughter from audience.) Perhaps it was for this reason that the rat retained mental reservations when the bush cow, arrived at the other side of the river, made the rat promise not to tell about anything he saw during their adventure. They then proceeded into the bush some distance to a wonderful tree, on the branches of which hung all manner of fine fruits and vegetables, bananas, papaia, yams, tanyas, cassava. The rat ate his fill of corn, while the cow was making his meal, but retained one grain of corn in the corner of his mouth when they left. Arrived back at the village, the rat after some time could no longer keep his secret and told the people what he had seen. "Ah ha!" the people said, and the whole settlement went 539 773

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539 773 across the river to the remarkable tree. After picking all they could, they decided it was best to cut down the tree. Before doing so they sent the bush cow to the creek with a sifter to get water. Then they cut through the trunk of the tree, but it would not fall down. It was stuck. The top was held in position by a strong piece of bush rope. Every possible means of cutting the rope was tried; men went up, the monkey (who had been eating waiti) went up, and others. All to no avail. Finally the small tree squirrel was sent up. He gnawed and gnawed. "Will it break?" asked the assemblage on the ground. "Just now," he answered. "Hurry and come down, lest you fall and get hurt," they said. "All right," he replied. With two more bites he severed the rope and somehow reached the ground before the tree fell. As soon as the tree came within reach, the people picked all the provisions from its boughs. Just as they finished, the bush cow returned from the creek to report his failure to get water with a sifter. Everyone laughed that he should have been so stupid as to be tricked so easily. There was nothing left for him on the tree but the plums (mope), which he has had to eat ever since. This trick was played on him, of course, to punish him for his selfishness. After the food had been picked the people were in a quandary as to how to get any more, for they knew nothing of agriculture. But the bunia bird came along and saved the day. No one knows where he got the knowledge, but he told the people how to plant, how to make matapis (cassava squeezers) and graters, and how to prepare the various foods. That is how the Caribs came into the knowledge of growing and preparing their foods.

maipuri — bush cow
mumpome — bush rat
keshipuru — tree squirrel
konoto — bunia bird

2. The Turtle and the Tiger

One day the turtle and the tiger were having a discussion. "What good are you?" inquired the tiger contemptuously of the turtle. "Look at me, I kill everything and have plenty of meat." "Is that so?" replied the turtle. "I can kill just as much meat as you. I can kill a bush cow, for instance." "Well, I'll have to be shown," the tiger replied skeptically, and they parted.

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After a time the turtle came to the bush cow's house, and sitting down, asked for something to eat. He was given some of the pepper pot which was on the fire. 'Ow," he said, "this pepper pot is hot. Give me some water." "Go over to the river and get some," said the bush cow. "No," said the turtle, "your water there is no good." "What do you want?" the bush cow asked sarcastically. "Do you expect a fancy banana mash or pineapple wine? Or would you like to have me urinate in your mouth, I suppose?" To the cow's surprise the turtle replied, "Yes, yes, that's what I want." And he opened his mouth. The bush cow came over to him and put the end of his penis in the turtle's mouth. "Put it in farther," said the turtle (informant demonstrating with a piece of stick in his own mouth). And just as he did so, the turtle fastened his teeth on the roots of the cow's penis.

With a howl of pain the deceived cow leaped up and dashed out into the bush, the turtle hanging tightly under his stomach. Screaming and crying the bush cow ran on until he dropped dead from pain and loss of blood.

Thus the turtle had his prey. But, upon looking over the situation, after trying to cut up the meat with his bare paws, he was forced to conclude that he could do nothing without a knife. While sitting morosely thinking over the affair, he saw the tiger come along. "Hello," said the turtle, "you see that I have killed this bush cow, but I have no knife with which to cut up the meat." The tiger was very much surprised, and of course had no idea how the turtle had accomplished this deed. But he said, "I'll cut up the meat for you." He forthwth ripped the carcass apart and cut it up, but in doing so he laid aside all of the meat for himself, leaving only the "bare guts" for the turtle. "What's this?" asked the turtle. "You cut up my prey for me and take all the meat, leaving me only the bare guts." "Heh, heh," laughed the tiger and, smacking his lips loudy he prepared to eat the meat. The turtle, chagrined but no despondent, went to one side with the entrails and, putting them into a bowl with water, boiled them up into a soup. Taking some of the broth in his mouth, he smacked his lips loudy. "Ah, this is good," he murmured. "This is sweet, the best soup I ever tasted." The tiger looked up from the crunching. "Let me try some, if it is so good," he said greedily. "Sure," said the turtle. The tiger

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773 tried the soup. "Yes, it's good," he said, "give me some more."
539 He took the bowl and raised it to his lips. "Tilt your head back farther so that you get it all," the turtle advised. As the tiger did so, the turtle pushed the bowl and its steaming contents full into his enemy's face, scalding it and putting out the tiger's eyes. Then he took the remainder of the meat and went away.

The tiger wandered about for some days, dejected and hungry, because, without the use of his eyes, he could not see to hunt.

Finally, rumu, the small carrion crow, came upon the tiger in this condition. "What's the matter?" he inquired. "That turtle put out my eyes and I can't see to hunt," replied the tiger waving his paws in front of his face. "Help me, or I'll starve." "I'll see what I can do," replied rumu. He went into the bush and procured a small round black seed, called konomenuru and he put one in each of the eye-sockets of the tiger. "I can see a little bit now," said the tiger, and rumu went away. The tiger groped about the bush for a few more days when anwana, the larger carrion crow spied him. "What's the matter?" asked the large crow. "Why, that turtle put out my eyes," said the tiger, "and rumu put in some seeds but I still can't see well." "I'll see what I can do," said the crow. So he went and got some locust gum and put it on the tiger's eyes. Immediately the victim began to see better. "Ah, I am well again," he said, "and the only way I can repay you is to kill meat for you." And ever since that time the crows have fed on the kill of the tiger.

waiyamu — turtle
maipuri — bush cow
kashushi — tiger
konomenuru — small seed
rumu — small crow
anwana — big crow
shimidie epoku — locust gum
arokuru — penis

3. Origin of Plant Binas

One day two brothers-in-law went out to hunt. The first knew how, but the other did not. They came upon the trail of an orupere (a huge mysterious snake with two tongues), and the skillful

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hunter told the other to circle around the other side so as to head off the monster. He really did this in order to get rid of the unfortunate fellow, because he knew that his brother-in-law, not knowing how to hunt, would probably be a victim to the beast's appetite. The second brother-in-law was not very long by himself when he saw the two immense tongues, which always precede the monster, coming toward him. They came from two opposite directions to encircle him. Being afraid, he hastily climbed a tree, only to find the two red tongues climbing up the trunk after him like snakes, with the monster below. "What shall I do?" he asked himself. But he took out his cutlass and proceeded to cut the tongues as they came toward him, lopping off a small piece each time they advanced. Finally the monster died as the result of this treatment. The man looked down and saw a number of plant binas growing in the monster's side. He came down the tree, took the leaves, and rubbed them all over himself and bathed. Then he went home, killing meat all the way, a thing which he never before had been able to do. When he arrived home with the game, his brother-in-law asked him with surprise how he got all the game. "You sent me to die," said the other, "but I got all these binas from the body of the orupere and am now better off than ever." In this way men first learned the use of plant binas.

* * *

Several informants have told me that if you kill a large camudi (boa constrictor), leave the huge body to decay, and come back after a month, you will find plant binas growing among the bones. Another gigantic snake, called the Aramari, is said to live at the head of the Ianna creek. It is described as a sort of monster twined about the branches of a tree, in a small hill which can be seen from afar. One has to be careful when approaching because the Aramari numbs the senses of spectators, a squall comes up, and with a terrific suction the unwary spectator is drawn into the mouth of the snake, which hangs about six feet above the ground. Old time people used to go to the spot and tie themselves to trees in order to view the beautiful marks on the snake's skin. In this way they got inspiration for designs which they worked in mokru. No binas, however, are attributed to this monster. These tales I regard as elaborations of personal experiences with

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825 camudis met while hunting. And it is not unusual that the bina plants should grow up in ground made fertile by a decaying body.

4. A Man's Adventures Among the Vultures

773 539 One day a man was out hunting and he shot a carrion crow. When it fell down he saw that it was wearing boots on its feet and a jacket-like garment on its wings and back. "Eh, eh," he said in perplexity, "What's this?" And he took the boots and the jacket and put them on himself. He immediately soared up into the air and found that he could fly home. Arriving at his house, he took the magic boots and jacket off and put them under the rafters of his house. Another man came by one day and, seeing the strange articles of attire in the house, took them down and put them on. Before he knew what was happening he had flown into the air and, in spite of himself, the boots and the jacket carried him toward the west where, on the rocky tops of the mountains, is the home of all crows. He was carried to the house of the original owner of the boots, and he found the wife awaiting his return. He accordingly took his place as husband of the woman, because he now had the outward appearance of her erstwhile spouse, the dead crow. But the father-in-law, the wife's father, was suspicious. "This doesn't seem to be my son-in-law," he kept saying. "I must test him to see." So he told the newcomer that he wanted him to make a bench, but that it must be made to look like him (the crow father-in-law). The supposed son-in-law went out to fulfil the command, but could find no wood. The place was plentifully supplied, however, with very hard stone. He sat down in consternation. How was he to make a bench from stone? While he was in this quandary, the woodpecker came along, and upon finding out the trouble, assured the man that he would help him. Accordingly he set to work and in a very short time pecked out a fine bench from the stone. The son-in-law took the bench home, and the father-in-law laughed and was well pleased. "Ah, I see that I have a good son-in-law," he said. And the man again took his place with his assumed wife. But before long the father-in-law gave evidence again of suspicion. "To prove you are the man I think you are," he said to the son-in-law, "you must go out and build the frame for a house." With the help of the woodpecker, the man fashioned the posts, but he was unable to find a way to

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dig the holes in the hard rock. For there was no earth in the vicinity, on a surface of bare rock. Finally the large earthworm came along. Upon learning of the man's distress, he said, "As I go down making a hole in the rock, insert a post each time I go down." With this aid the frame was set up. Upon learning this, the father-in-law said, "All right, but you must finish the house before tomorrow." The man went back, and with the help of the large earthworm succeeded in putting on the roof of solid rock. The worm was so strong that he could pry off huge sheets of rock. The father-in-law was shown the work, but now that the jobs had been done, he no longer wanted a son-in-law of any description. So he said, "You're not my son-in-law. Clear out." The man was glad enough to leave the scene of such trials and went back to his human home. Only after the departure of the man did the father-in-law discover that his daughter was pregnant. The child was a cross between a man and a crow. (Informant a bit indefinite about actual appearance.)

anawana — large carrion crow
wetu — woodpecker
kowi — big earthworm, as big around as a man's arm
sapato — boots
abusarakama — jacket

5. Konowaru and the Woman

A woman had no man. One day she heard Konowaru, the large tree frog, out in the bush, making his cry which sounds like "waa, waa." "If you were a man," she said, "you could bring me some meat to eat." Within a few days a man appeared at her house with a little walisha full of game. This was Konowaru, although unknown to the woman. He emptied the walisha. When the woman tried to put the game back inside, the walisha wouldn't hold it, but when the man put it back, there was plenty of room. For several days the strange man continued to bring in game in the same small walisha. Finally she took him as husband. One day he met a man who had no luck in his hunting. He washed the man's skin with urine and gave the man power to hunt. One day Konowaru and the woman went to the creek to bathe. Arrived there, Konowaru said, "I'll not bathe here. I'll go to my own pool of water farther off in the bush." But the woman laughed and

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splashed water on his skin. He did not like this, but immediately turned himself into a frog and went back to the trees, where he has stayed ever since.[1]

konowaru — large tree frog
pakuku — small tree frog

6. The Monkey Husband

One day the monkey came down from the trees. He took off his suit (his skin) and made himself look like a man. Being handsome, he soon got himself a wife and, in the course of events, a son. Before this time people knew very little. The monkey would lie in his hammock and play the violin, sing, and beat the drum. He also showed the people how to dance, make pottery, basketry, spin cotton, build houses. In fact, he taught the people all of the arts and crafts which they know at the present time. He visited all of the other settlements and showed them these things also. Finally he came back to his house, and one day told his wife that he wanted to take his little son up to see his mother in the trees. But the wife's mother, who heard this, started cursing him. And he became so vexed that he seized his skin from the rafters of the house where he had hung it up, put it on, and went back to his arboreal home never to return to live among men.

yarakaru — monkey

7. Adventures with the Bush Spirits

Once an epo (bush spirit) set a trap and did not go back again to look at it for three days. His wife, who was in need of meat, told him that he must bring whatever was in the trap, even if it was rotten. In the meantime, a man had got caught in the trap. He was not able to get out and did not know what to do. Finally kurashiwe, a small bush bird, came along and saw his distress. He advised the man to smear himself with his own excrement so that he would smell badly. This the man did, and when the epo owner of the trap appeared, the latter said, "Well, I see I have some rotten meat here, but I must take it anyway." So saying, he took a large leaf from the bush and wrapped up the prey to take it to

[1] Cf. Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 215.

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the creek. At the waterside he set down the man while he went to search for some bush rope with which to bind him up for carrying. While the spirit was thus absent, the man jumped up, and running a distance, climbed a turu tree. Seeing that his meat had run away, the epo went to get his dogs and his companions in order to track the lost meat. The dogs finally led them to the turu tree where the man was hiding. First they tried to chop the tree down, but their axes were made only of turtle shells and soon broke. Then they decided to use fire, which to an epo means jagdman ants. The whole flock of ants swarmed up the tree, but as they came up, the man in the branches spit on them and they fell back. "Eh, eh," said the epos, "we have tried chopping and we have tried fire. What will we do now?" Finally one of them volunteered to ascend the tree, which he did upside down, due to the peculiarities of epos (overhanging superorbital ridges which prevent their looking up). As he made his ascent, the man up in the tree took the midrib from a turu leaf and sharpened the point with his teeth. The epo, previously to his climb, had told his companions on the ground that when he got hold of the man he would yell "Ready," and they should all be standing by with sticks ready to beat the man when the epo threw him on the ground. As the epo came up the tree backwards, the man jammed the sharp turu rib into the epo's rear end with full force. "Ready," the man shouted to the epos on the ground, and when the body of their comrade fell they beat him to death, not discovering their error until the deed was done. Night was now coming on, so they abandoned the tree. The man came down and made for home, but night again caught him, and he had to take refuge in a hollow tree. They took a large number of snakes of assorted sizes and stuffed them in the entrance hole of the retreat. The snakes smelled the man (who, it may be remembered, was covered with excrement), and were much surprised at the rank odor. "If that is what a man smells like, what do I smell like?" said the land camudi, breaking wind. "You smell like a deer," replied the others. (Laughter.) "What do I smell like?" asked the small camudi breaking wind on a thin high note. "You smell like a rat," said the others. All this was very annoying to the man, and, as he happened to see the chicken hawk flying overhead, he called out. "Hello, uncle," he shouted. "Hello, nephew," the hawk called back. "Is that true? Is the hawk really

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your uncle?" cried the camudis in alarm. "Yes, can't you see?" answered the man. The snakes backed out of the hole in haste, but as they did so the hawk swooped down and pecked out all their eyes. The man, coming out of the hole, beat them to death and went home safely.[1]

yawaru — dog
towatowa — chicken hawk
iye — camudi snake
kurashiwe — small bush bird

8. Ordeals of a Traveller in the Bush

(The following is a long drawn and often apparently pointless tale, which seems to be a composite made up of elements which I have as yet been unable to identify.)

A man was once lost in the bush and managed to kill an abuya (bush hog). When night came he crawled into a hole at the bottom of a hollow tree to sleep. Before long he heard something coming toward him, knocking the trunks of the trees, "Zoom, zoom." Before long it came to the tree in which the man was lying and knocked the trunk, "Zoom." "Heh," yelled the man from within, "What is this?" said the Thing, which was really a bush spirit called Agnatwatimepu, "I have never had a tree talk back to me this way before. What are you?" he said to the tree.

"It's I—abuya," said the man. "Yes?" replied the spirit, skeptically, "let me see your head." The man stuck out the head of the abuya he had killed. "Now," said the supposed abuya, "let me see you. Stick your head in this hole." The man had only a broken arrow with him, but when the spirit with its great beetling brows put in its head, the man stood above it (for these spirits—epos—can not look upward) and drove the arrow through the back of the spirit's neck.

The next morning he started off again and the akawi bird showed him the way, but he was caught again by night. Near him as he slept was something which kept saying, "I wish day would come so I could get some fresh meat." When morning came the man looked about and found only a turtle, which he cut to pieces with his cutlass.

[1] Contains incidents of the Kororomanna story, Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 126.

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Next night, when darkness came, he was forced to sleep in the only dry spot he could find, under a hanging wood ants' nest. When he was settled a small voice from above asked, "Are you asleep?" "No," replied the man, "not asleep." Three times this question and answer were repeated. After the third time the man became suspicious and got up and went away a short distance. "Are you asleep?" the monotonous voice queried. No answer. Suddenly, with a crash, the whole ant nest fell on the spot where the man had been lying. Seeing that he had tricked the ants, the man took revenge on them by chopping them to bits with his cutlass.

The next night the man was awakened from his sleep by a hoarse voice which kept repeating, "I wish day would come, so I could eat a man." In the morning the man found a land camudi and with his cutlass cut the snake to bits. But as he did so, each of the pieces turned into a frog, so the man burned them all.

The next night he heard takushi (the humming bird) say, "I wish day would come so I could suck out someone's eyes." In the morning the man, whose hearing was very acute, chopped up the bird with his cutlass.

The next night the man heard werushi (the bush pigeon) say that he would like day to come so he could eat stones on the trail. And the man knew when he heard that, that he was not so far from home. He asked the pigeon to show him the way, so the pigeon said to go straight in the direction in which he flew. The man did so, and after a time came to the trail where he found the pigeon picking the gravel. But the man had been so long away from home that he did not know in which direction along the trail his house lay. So the pigeon had to show him. Arrived at home he found his own mother weeping for him. She did not know him. But finally she was convinced that he had actually returned and they lived happily.[1]

9. A Husband, a Wife, and a Bush Spirit

One day a man went to hunt, and while he was gone a huge bush spirit came out of the jungle. It is called Dipopumyu, and was covered with hair. It made love to the man's wife and told her to sing, "Dipopumyu is carrying me away." They danced

[1] *Cf.* Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 211.

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about the house, and finally the spirit enticed the woman away with him into the bush. When the man returned to his house he was in a quandary to know what had made off with his wife, but he followed their trail and before long came upon the elopers. "Eh, eh," he said, "how can I kill this thing? My arrows would only get stuck in that big mass of hair." So he made a lamp from beeswax, lit it, and touched it to the hairy one. With a puff the entire hirsute mass caught fire and burned up, killing the spirit. When the hair had burned off, the man found that the body of the spirit was no larger around than your arm and that the feet were very fine and small. Turning to the wife, he saw that she was getting hair all over her (a very unattractive thing to the Caribs). He shaved her off and took her home. If she had stayed with the spirit, she would have been covered with hair in no time.

10. Cleverness of the Turtle

One day the weyamu (turtle) was amusing himself by rolling some rocks down into the river, when the tiger came along. "Let me do that too," said the tiger, "It looks like fun." "This is not the place for you to try this game," replied the turtle, "you are so big that you will hurt yourself here. Come to this other place, where the ground is softer than these rocks for you to roll on." So he took the tiger to a hillside. In the river at the bottom of this hillside, the turtle had previously fixed a number of stakes with sharp points sticking upwards. "Here's a fine place," he said. The tiger curled himself up in a ball and rolled down the hill with great force onto the submerged stakes, which pierced him again and again. He dragged himself out of the water, covered with blood, and lying down on the bank, he died. The turtle took out his teeth to make a necklace and went away.

Soon the tiger's brother came along and saw the body. And, after a bit, he met up with the turtle, who was dancing with the tiger-teeth necklace about his neck and singing a song about how he had killed the tiger. The tiger's brother said, "So you're the one who killed my brother." "Not at all," said the turtle, "I haven't even seen your brother." "What about that necklace?" the other asked. "Why, this is a bush-hog necklace," said the turtle. "I don't believe you and I'm going to kill you," replied the tiger with cold indifference. "Not here," pleaded the turtle,

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"Take me down to the river side and throw me against the trunk of a turu tree." The tiger agreed that this was perhaps an efficacious method of execution and went with the turtle to the river side where he threw the offender with all his might against the trunk of a turu tree. But the turtle's hard shell glanced off the smooth trunk and the turtle fell into the water unhurt, where he sunk out of sight, and, swimming under water, escaped to a distant point. The tiger, seeing that his victim did not float, went away satisfied that he had killed him.

A short time later the tiger again met the turtle. He was much surprised as he thought that he had killed the turtle before. "No, you luckily didn't kill me," said the turtle, "and you unjustly accuse me of killing your brother." The tiger was half convinced that perhaps he had made a mistake in his allegations. "It is the akuri in that thicket who killed your brother. Come with me," said the turtle. "You go around that side and head him off." While the tiger did this, the turtle climbed up into the top of a tree by a bush rope. When the tiger, very scratched from his fruitless search in the thicket, came back to find him, the turtle was swinging safely in the top of the tree. "Weyamu," he called, whistling. Finally he saw the turtle. "Come down," he said, "I want you to go to a drinking spree with me." The turtle came down and said "All right." They went to a spree where they found a number of tigers already fairly drunk. Upon seeing the turtle they all seized their bows and arrows and chased the turtle out of the house, shooting at him. The arrows, of course, could not pierce the turtle's shell, but he held the points under his arm pit so that it looked as if the arrows were sticking out from him. And he lay down as if dead. Seeing this, the tigers believed that they had killed him and went back to their drink. But the turtle broke all the arrows in the middle of their shafts, and keeping the pointed ends, left the others lying on the ground. When the tigers saw this next morning, they knew that they had again been tricked.

Accordingly, when one of the tigers met the turtle some days later, he said, "So here you are. You fooled us once, but I'm going to kill you for sure this time." "What do you mean?" inquired the turtle innocently. "I wasn't even at your drink party. It must have been some one else." "Oh, no, it wasn't," said the tiger, "I'm going to kill you now." "All right," replied the turtle,

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"you have me in your power, I can't get away, but why don't you go to a more secluded spot where no one can interrupt you while you eat me?" The tiger agreed that that was a sensible idea, so the turtle led him to a thick clump of razor grass. "You wait here and I'll go in and see if its all right," said the turtle. "I can't get away, you know, because you can run much faster than I." So he went into the thicket, but as he did so, he set his broken arrows (the ones kept from the adventure at the drinking spree) in the ground so that they projected out in the direction in which the tiger must come. Arrived in the midst of the thicket, the turtle cried, "All right. Come on. I'm ready to be eaten." The tiger, in a frenzy of revenge and gluttony, dashed forward and impaled himself with shrieks of pain on the planted arrow heads. Thus the turtle once again outwitted his enemies. And to this day he has made his home in the razor grass.

11. Why the Tiger Eats Raw Meats

A man, a dog, and a tiger were out hunting. The dog got an abuya (small bush hog) and the tiger got ponjo (large bush hog). The tiger was weary and asked the dog to roast him a piece of meat. The dog said, "No, I'm weary, too. Roast your own meat." When the man came home, the tiger repeated his request to him. "No," said the man, "I'm weary and will roast my own meat, but none for you." So he roasted his meat and gave some to the dog, but the tiger did not know how to cook, so then and ever since, he has had to eat his meat raw. And he became so vexed with his two companions that ever since that time he has considered the man and the dog particular delicacies to satisfy his appetite.

12. Bush Spirits and Supreme Beings

A long time ago the large spirit which has charge of the whole bush (David says he doesn't know its name) sent to the people to come to him. One man of the group he took with him into the forest and he changed this man into the appearance of a typical bush spirit: a long thin body, covered with hair, projecting eyebrows, no anus, and so forth. The people were naturally alarmed when the man returned. So when the spirit called them to come again, they refused. This vexed the spirit, and ever since, the bush

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spirits have seized and eaten humans whenever they got the chance. 773 539

(Note: This bush spirit is apparently a sort of literary diety, whose name is not known to David, and whom the piaiyen cannot call to them. Upon being closely questioned David said that he had never seen this head man and did not know what his precise appearance was. But he insisted that this spirit, the headman of the bush, had "fixed everything." In fact he seems to be regarded somewhat as a creator of the world.[1] Upon being asked about the moon and the stars, David said that they were also included in the trials of strength, but once they got started they could not stop, and ever since have been going across the sky. What their nature is he does not know, but the headman fixed them up there. Regarding the phases of the moon, David says that the headman causes it to swell up and to get thin regularly so that men can keep track of the time as it passes. The boss spirit of the universe, managing executive as it were, is Komonakoto (same name, but not same identity as first medicine man). When a piaiyen has become well acquainted with all the other spirits he may succeed in establishing contact with Komonakoto, but he must have long and successful experience to be able to do this.) 538

13. The Primeval Race

A long time ago men did not know much about the animals, so the headman who made the world arranged a series of races in which all the animals were to compete: (1) climbing a mountain; (2) swimming a river; (3) climbing a tree. The tale then proceeds to describe in detail the actions of each of the bush animals in these respective tests, setting forth the Carib knowledge of wild animal behavior as they know it today. I omit these descriptions, which are common knowledge of all travellers who have familiarized themselves in the bush. According to the story, however, the mahm (Tinamou) was inefficient in all of these tests. The bush cow cannot swim well, so when confronted with the swimming test, he ducked under the water and walked across the river on the bottom. In the swimming test the sloth had difficulty in keeping afloat because he was continually breaking wind (laughter); the 773 539

[1] Cf. Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, Chap. I.

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773 headman therefore plugged his anus with mud. The Indians be-
539 lieve to this day that the sloth has no anus.

14. Tradition Concerning Antecedents of the Barama Caribs

173 A group of people were living a long time ago in the Cuyuni head, and for some reason were fighting among themselves continuously, killing people at an astonishing rate. Finally a mother and daughter and a father and son escaped, the males coming first, and made their way north to the Barama head. Here they inter-married, and from the head of the river the Caribs spread down toward the mouth.

This theory of origin is supposed to be confirmed by the fact that David (informant) had a relative, his father's brother-in-law, who had journeyed to the Cuyuni head and there seen what he considered miraculous evidence of that great historic period of fighting: tree stumps of rock, and mountains which were white as cotton. When asked in what way these phenomena confirmed the theory, David replied that they were so unusual that they showed something important had happened there.

174 (The spread of the Caribs from the Barama head rather than vice versa seems to agree with their present distribution, their absence below the mouth of the river and along the coast, and also with Schomburck's observations, that in 1842 the Caribs occupied the upper part of the river and the Akawais the lower.)[1]

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

162 The data concerning the physical anthropology of the Barama
361 Caribs were collected as impartially as possible, with the object of presenting a fair description of the bodily features of the Indian population as it exists at the present time. According to the best estimates the total adult Carib population of the Barama numbers between 275 and 300 individuals. It was not without considerable difficulty that 206 subjects (104 males, 102 females) were finally measured, a difficulty which was due not to the personal objections of the subjects, which were easily overcome, but to the fact that the population is distributed among thirty-three settlements

[1] See Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. 6, Vol. II, Chap. 2.